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PEND D'OREILLE KINSHIP

by

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B.A. (Sociology) Montana State University, 1954

Presented in partial fulfillment  
of the requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

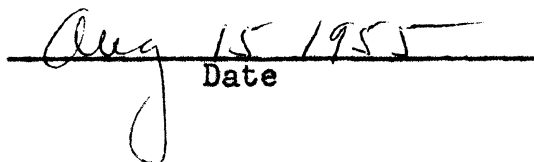
MONTANA STATE UNIVERSITY

1955

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He is deeply grateful for the help of Dr. Carling Malouf who furnished a great deal of material, information, leading sources, and the introductions to the informants. Without his very close and personal help this work would never have been started.

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## PREFACE

The following paper on the Pend d'Oreille Indian kinship system is based on data gained by weekly visits to Arlee, St. Ignatius, Perma, and Dog Lake (Plains), Montana, on or near the Flathead reservation. The Flathead and Pend d'Oreille, both Salish speaking groups, share the reserve with a third tribe, the Kutenai, who speak an independent language. The field work was done between September 1954 and March 1955.

Field work was necessary because of the meager data available on the Pend d'Oreille Indians, a tribe which once occupied portions of Montana, Idaho, and Washington. The project was almost too late since the older Indians are now rapidly disappearing, elements of the past culture are becoming extinct, and collection of original data is becoming a difficult task. Interviews were carried out with the older Pend d'Oreille people who are still preserving parts of their past ways of life. I was most fortunate to be able to work with Mr. Nick Lassaw of Plains, Montana who is part Pend d'Oreille and part Kutenai. He is deeply interested in the history and the background of his people, and has the added faculty of being a well educated gentleman.



Although Mr. Lassaw is in his fifties, his keen interest in his tribe has enabled him to become well informed. Other material was gained from Mr. and Mrs. Charles Finley of St. Ignatius, Montana, and Mr. Michael Small Salmon of Perma, Montana.

A Flathead, Mr. Joe Big-Sam, was very helpful and his translation of the interviews from Salish into English were invaluable. He was able to analyze information which reflects the rapidity of the changes occurring in the Pend d'Oreille culture. Many years of close association and intermarriage has insured the maintenance of very similar cultures for the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille Indians of Montana. They have for many, many years lived together and have almost become assimilated. Very little difference could be noticed in their language, and no distinction at all could be observed in their present social life. There are about two hundred and forty full blood Pend d'Oreille on this reservation, and the rest of the Pend d'Oreille population, the part bloods, do not consider themselves separate from Flathead Indians.

Because this study also contained changes in kinship systems, information had to be gathered from older and younger generations. Mr. Lassaw's twin daughters were interviewed to determine the nature of their acculturized version of kinship terminology, and

behavior toward relations was recorded. Additional terminological material was gathered from other young informants. Also, through conversation and by means of non-participant observation methods, their overt behavior toward relatives was gathered and recorded. The latter method proved very helpful since the informants were more relaxed, and would use their actual everyday terminology.

Formal interviews had to be employed in order to discover behavioral patterns. Leading questions were avoided and were only used when no other alternative was left. Open ended questions were mainly utilized, leaving the answers entirely to the informants. The results obtained from this method were quite satisfactory.

## INTRODUCTION

In 1937, Turney-High gathered a list of Flathead Indian kinship terms which was published by Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association in a paper<sup>1</sup> named "The Flathead Indians of Montana." Other information on Pend d'Oreille social organization was compiled from James A. Teit's paper edited by Franz Boas, entitled The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus,<sup>2</sup> and Hans Vogt's The Kalispel Language.<sup>3</sup>

Teit's information on Pend d'Oreille social organization was found helpful but inadequate. His historical information was particularly utilized but it too had to be reaffirmed with data obtained from informants. The major part of the kinship, relationship, and modern kinship terms was obtained by direct field work and through the interviews with informants. Turney-High's kinship terms were found to be most useful since they were almost identical with the Pend d'Oreille kinship

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<sup>1</sup> Memoirs of the American Anthropological Association, Number 48, 1947. "The Flathead Indians of Montana," by Turney-High.

<sup>2</sup> Tait, James A., The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus. 45 Annual report of the Bureau of American Ethnology.

<sup>3</sup> Vogt H., The Kalispel Language.

terms. Slight dialectical differences have been noted and pointed out in Tables I and II.

The purpose of this paper may be summed up as follows:

1. To present Pend d'Oreille Kinship terminological data.
2. To present new material on kinship behavior together with attitudes of Pend d'Oreille people toward their relatives.
3. To discuss changes which have occurred in their kinship system through the process of acculturation.
4. To come to certain theoretical conclusions and implications of the data.

## CHAPTER I

### PEND D'OREILLE TRIBES

People belonging to the Upper Pend d'Oreille tribe who live on the Flathead reserve at the present time comprise a population group of between two hundred and two hundred and fifty full blooded individuals. Most of these people live around St. Ignatius, Montana. Others, however, are scattered as far west as Plains, Montana, and as far east as Arlee, Montana. They are the descendants of the Kalispel (Pend d'Oreille) tribes of Montana and Idaho, and have been living on these lands from times immemorial.

The Lower Pend d'Oreille Indians are now a small tribe who have a reservation of their own in Pend d'Oreille County, Washington, where they are known as the Kalispels. This reservation is located on the east side of the Clark Fork River, north of New Port, Washington, facing the small towns of USK and CUSICK.<sup>4</sup> Between these two ex-

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<sup>4</sup> Swanton, John R. The Indian Tribes of North America, Bulletin 145, Bureau of American Ethnology, (1925), P. 400.

tremes (according to John R. Swanton) other Pend d'Oreille people were located. They were settled "on Pend d'Oreille River and Lake, Priest Lake, and the lower courses of the Clark Fork. They were said to have extended eastward to Thompson Lake and Horse Plains (Plains) and to have hunted once, some of the Salmon River country, Canada, and were formerly said to have extended to Flathead Lake and Missoula."<sup>5</sup>

Teit defined the Pend d'Oreille boundaries very similarly but added more details. He believed that "the Pend d'Oreille occupied all the Flathead Lake and Flathead River country, the Little Bitterroot, the Pend d'Oreille River west to about the Plains, the Clark Fork and Missoula Rivers to about Missoula. Northward they extended to about the British Columbia line. To the south they extended as far as the SEMTE<sup>6</sup>USE (near Missoula.) Thus they occupied the greater part of Flathead and Missoula counties. According to some informants, all of Ravalli County was also claimed by the Pend

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<sup>5</sup>  
Ibid.  
<sup>6</sup>

SEMTE<sup>6</sup>USE was a tribe which seems to have been very closely related to the Flathead, lived in the present Granite County and are now extinct. Pend d'Oreille people, however, claim to have been the tribe most closely related to them and so they occupied the SEMTE<sup>6</sup>USE land after their extinction. Pend d'Oreille activities in this area consisted of root and camas digging.

d'Oreille although the Flathead occupied it a long time ago."<sup>7</sup>

Neighboring the Pend d'Oreille on the east was a Salish tribe, the TUNA'XE (Collville or Flat Hats, now extinct.) The Kutenai and Upper Kutenai were on the north. The western boundaries of the Pend d'Oreille territory were bordered by the domain of the Nez Perce and Couer d'Alene, while Shoshone and Flathead occupied lands to the south of them.

The lands of the extinct TUNA'XE were later occupied as hunting grounds and used by both the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes. "The Pend d'Oreille used chiefly the northern part and the Flathead the southern; the approximate dividing line seems to have been across Sun River."<sup>8</sup>

#### Physical Characteristics of the Country

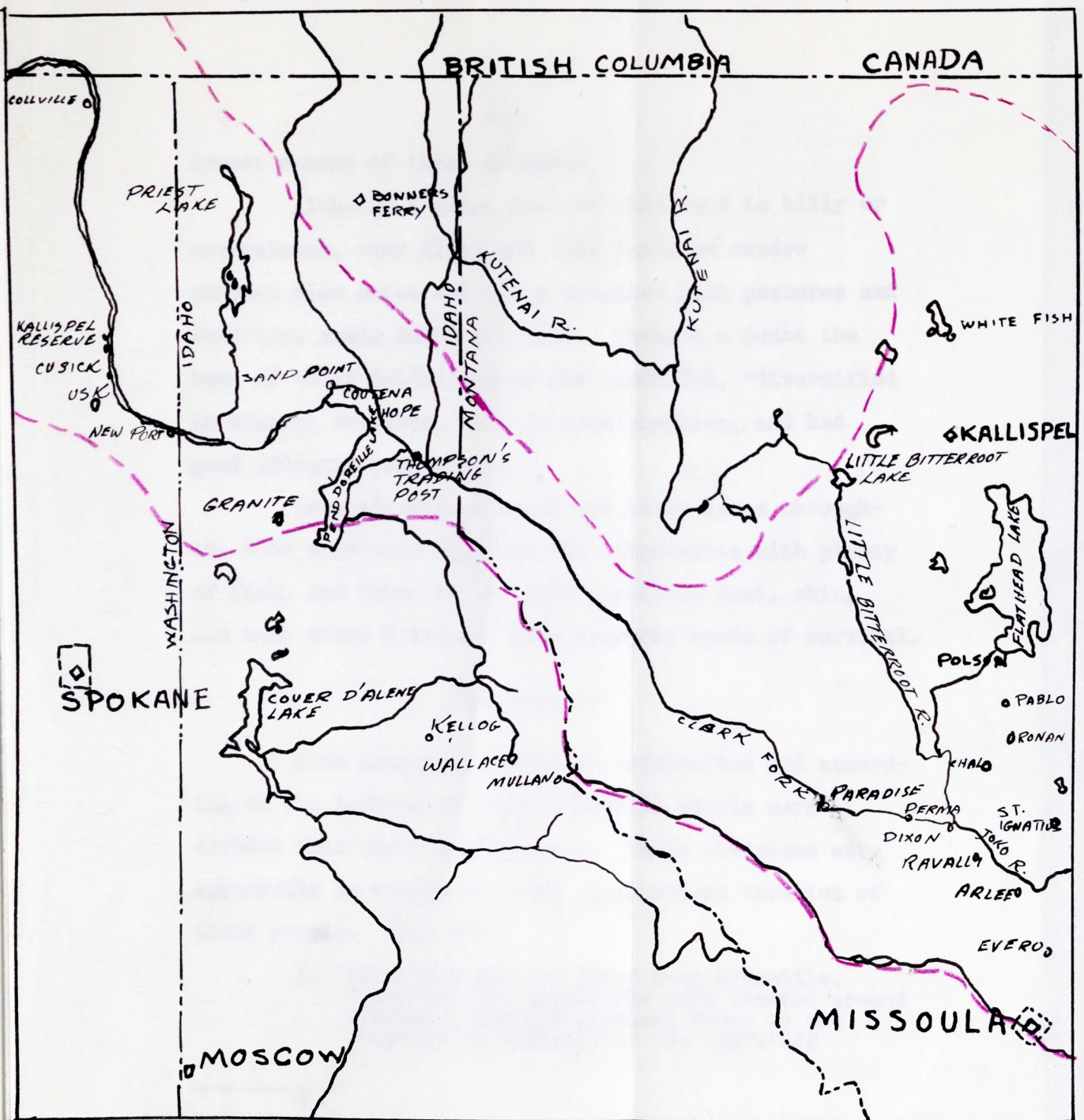
The land in the northern part of the Pend d'Oreille territory is mostly forested with pine, fir, and larch species on the higher or drier elevations and with spruce, white cedar, and certain broad leaf species such as cottonwood, birch, and scrub willows on the lower elevations and damper portions of the terrain. An abundant undercover of different berry bushes covers the

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<sup>7</sup> Teit, "The Salishan Tribes of the Western Plateaus," Forty-fifth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 308.

<sup>8</sup> Ibid., p. 308-309.





COLORED LINE DESIGNATES  
THE OLD PEND D'ORIELLE HOME AND  
TERRITORY



lowest canopy of these forests.

Although a great deal of this land is hilly or mountainous, many flats and open lands or meadow patches also exist and these supplied lush pastures and luxuriant grass lands for game. Without a doubt the home of these Salish groups was beautiful, "diversified in natural features, rich in food supplies, and had good climatic conditions."<sup>9</sup>

Long mountain streams and large lakes throughout this territory supplied the inhabitants with plenty of fish, and fauna of the land furnished meat, skin, and many other items of their everyday needs of survival.

#### SUBDIVISIONS

From available published information and according to the informants, Pend d'Oreille people were divided into three subdivisions. These divisions were apparently in accordance with geographical location of these people. They are:

1. Upper Kalispel or Upper Pend d'Oreille. These are the people who were located around Flathead Lake and Flathead River to the vicinity of Missoula or the SEMTEUSE

territory. They extended Northward to the international boundary and wintered on the Bitterroot and St. Ignatius. These people were sometimes referred to as "Lake Flat-head" since they had their headquarters on Flathead Lake.

2. Lower Kalispel or Lower Pend d'Oreille. They were the bands who resided from Thompson Falls down to the Clark Fork, Pend d'Oreille Lake, Priest Lake, and Pend d'Oreille River, nearly to the international boundary. They also had acquired hunting grounds in British Columbia.
3. "CHEWELAH (in the country west of the CALISPELL or CHEWELAH mountains in the upper part of the COLLVILLE valley.) The Lower Kalispel also included several minor bands, the Chewelah apparently two. The Chewelah subdivision spoke a slightly different dialect and was sometimes regarded as an independent tribe." <sup>10</sup> These people seem to have become extinct during the pre-white eras. Informants either do not recognize the word "Chewelah" or if they do they only remember it in conjunction with the "CHEWELAH MOUNTAINS." I did not find anyone who could give me satisfactory information in relation to "Chewelah" bands. Teit and other people also mention this term and consider it as a subdivision of the Pend d'Oreille people. But their knowledge also ends here.

#### Definition of the Terms

Teit's definition of the terms Kalispel, or Pend D'Oreille has been used by several other anthropologists and has become the standard definition. As he believed,

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<sup>10</sup>Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, p. 400.

"the Pend d'Oreille were also called EARRING PEOPLE, and HANGING EARS. The name was given to them by the early traders because when first met they nearly all wore large shell earrings."<sup>11</sup> According to Teit, "Kalispel or SKA'LISPEL said to refer to "camas" and according to informants the term Kalispel or KALISP'LEM carried the meaning of a young camas. The camas digging grounds near Lake Kalispel, Washington, were also named the same."<sup>12</sup> It happens that this location was the main seat of the Lower Pend d'Oreille.

Other Salish tribes call these people SNIA'LAMEN or SNIA'LEMENIC. These Salishan terms mean "the people of the SNIA'LEMEN." SNIA'LEMEN was a place where large Pend d'Oreille bands had permanent villages. This area was located at the present Mission of St. Ignatius valley and was the major headquarters of the Upper Pend d'Oreille.

Although the term Kalispel refers to "the Camas People," the word has been translated by some of the other Salishan tribes, like OKANOAGANS and others, as "Flat Country People." The people of non-Salishan tribes have also given the Pend d'Oreille people different names

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<sup>11</sup>

Ibid., p. 296.

<sup>12</sup>

Ibid., p. 296.

in relation to their location and their occupational sites. Here we will show a few examples of such terms.

Upper Kutenai called the Upper Pend d'Oreille "Red Willow People," while the Lower Pend d'Oreille were called the "River People," or Compress Side of Head."

The Crow knew the people of the Upper Pend d'Oreille as "The Tribe That Uses Canoes," but they did not have any specific term for the people of the Lower Pend d'Oreille.

Yakima, Palcos, and Klickitat did not have separate terms for the Upper and Lower Pend d'Oreille. They called them both "People of the Great Fir Trees."

### Languages

"The Kalispel belonged to the interior division<sup>13</sup> of the great Salishan family." Both Lower and Upper Pend d'Oreille speak the same dialect of the Salishan linguistic groups. Their dialect is almost exactly the same as the language of the Flathead Indians with slight variations. A little drag on the last syllable of each word could be noticed in the Pend d'Oreille Salish dialect. But this difference is very slight indeed and

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<sup>13</sup>

Swanton, Indian Tribes of North America, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145, p. 399.

at the present day is not as pronounced as it was in earlier times.

### History

No one has ever been able to trace or locate the origin of these tribes. From time immemorial Flathead and Pend d'Oreille groups have been neighbors and have lived together. In fact, they are now so closely related and have culturally become so similar that distinctions between the Flathead groups and Upper Pend d'Oreille are almost impossible to determine. Not even their legends or myths are able to give a history of their migration to the Northern Rocky Mountains, and the Bitterroot and Cabinet Ranges.

"The Kalispel were visited by Lewis and Clark in 1805, and in 1809 a post was established on Pend d'Oreille Lake by the Northwest Company and another on the Clark Fork the same year called The Salish House. Emissaries of the American Fur Company reached them later. <sup>14</sup>

More authentic information regarding these people was made available by the early 19th century explorers who wrote journals of their journeys to the wild territories of the great northwest. Among such materials

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<sup>14</sup>  
Op. cit., p. 400.

the journals of Lewis and Clark and David Thompson are the best known to us.

Reverend William L. Davis, in his History of St. Ignatius Mission, gives us an account of the conversion of the Confederated Salish and Kutenai tribes of the Flathead Reservation. According to him they were first met in 1844 by Jesuit missionaries.

The territory belonging to these three tribes was surrendered to the white people on July 16, 1855. The only piece of land retained by these people at this time was an area around Flathead Lake which later became The Flathead Reservation. At this time a number of Upper Pend d'Oreille concentrated at St. Ignatius and the bands of the Lower Pend d'Oreille were assembled on a reservation in Washington with Okanogans, Collville, and a number of other tribes.

## CHAPTER II

### PEND D'OREILLE, FLATHEAD, AND KUTENAI KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

Although there is very little difference between the nature of the Pend d'Oreille and Flathead kinship terminology, certain differences in accent and dialect can be noticed. Those differences are recorded in Tables I and II. Terms are listed according to consanguineal and affinal relatives, and are placed according to their importance to the individual speaker. Each table consists of four major columns with each one separated into three sub-columns. The first major column lists the relatives in English. The second, third, and fourth major columns give terms for the three tribes under discussion. It should be noted that separate terms may be used for the same relative in question, depending on the speaker's sex. For instance, father's sister might be called differently by her niece or by her nephew. There are also certain terms which are used commonly among both sexes and used without any changes and regardless of the sex of the speaker. Hence, three sub-columns were necessary to separate these terms from each other.

Kinship terms of the Salishan tribes of the Flathead reserve, are compared with those of the Kutenai. The purpose of this comparison is to illustrate further the differences and similarities of kinship system and terms by utilizing data from a tribe other than the Salish groups of this reservation. Kutenai have been and still are the neighbors of Flathead and Pend d'Oreille tribes and are now regarded as one of the components of the great Flathead Confederacy. Many of them have settled among the Flathead and Pend d'Oreille and have become an inseparable part of their communities. Therefore a comparison of their kinship system with Salishan groups to illustrate their kinship differences seemed necessary. "The Kutenai terms used here are written with the adjectival prefix "KA" first person, singular, possessive, "MY". They consider the simple terms as stems which require the prefix to be words."



TABLE I

## PEND D'OREILLE, FLATHEAD AND KUTENAI KINSHIP TERMS CONSANGUINEAL

English terms	Pend D'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M & F	F	M	M & F	F
Ancient ancestors or descendants		pəpəgət			pəpəgət				
Ancestors and descendants		ncitsənsuton			ncitsənsuton				
Dist. G.Ps. & G. Ch.		gəɬsmolsin			stəɬtəsmkən				
Gt. G. Parents		sila'wiye			sila'wiye			ka'atsmə	
Gt. Gd. Child		sila'wiye			sila'wiye			ka'atsmə	
Gd. parent		tceowé			tceowé			ka'pa'pa	
Gd. child		tceowé			tceowé			ka'pa'pa	
Gt. Gd. Mother		'tupie			'tupie'				
Gd. Mo. (in general)		ya'ya			ya'ya			ka'tité'	
Mo.' Mo.		čičiye'			teičiye'			katiti	
Da. Ch.			čičiye'			teičiye'			katiti
Sib. Da. Ch.			čičiye'			teičiye'			
Mat. Gd. Parents		sile'			si'le				
Mat. Gp. Br.		sile'			si'le				
Mat. Gp. Cou		sile'			si'le				

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

English terms	Pend D'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	MAF	F	M	MAF	F	M	MAF	F
Da. Ch.	sile'			sile'					katite'
Sib. Da. Ch.	sile'			sile'					
Fa. Mo.		gene'			ke'ne				
So. Ch.			gene'			ke'ne			ka Pi Pa
Fa. Fa. Br.	s̄ePe'			sg'ePe					
M. Cau. So. Ch.	s̄ePe'			sg'ePe					
Sib. So. Ch.	s̄ePe'			sg'ePe					
Br. So. Ch.	s̄ePe'			sg'ePe'					
Par. Sib. (After death of parents)		ɬue'sten			ɬue'sten				
Sib. Orphaned Ch.		ɬue'ɬt		s	ɬue'ɬt				
Sl. So.			s̄ḡḡs̄e' (sg'seelt)			skwseelt			ka xa ɬna'leiz
Br. Da.			ti'ikwe			ti'ikwe			ka' Pa't!
Fa. Sl.			ti'ikwe			ti'ikwe			
Sl. So.	s̄ḡḡs̄e'			skuse'ɬt					
Fa. Sl.	skukwi			skukwi					

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

English terms	Pend D'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Fa. F. Co	SKÜKwi	*		SKÜKwi					
Br. So.		SKÜKwi			SKÜKwi				
M. Co. So.		SKÜKwi			SKÜKwi				
Mo. Si.		Ka'ge			Ka'ge			Ka'okt	
Mo. F. Co.		Ka'ge			Ka'ge				
Mo. Br.		si:or sié			si:or sié			Kaxa'tsa	
Mo. M. Co.		si:or sié			si:or sié				
Fa. Br.		saméel			saméel			Ka'xa	
Fa. M. Co.		saméel			saméel			Ka'xa	
Fa; Br.		samama			samama				
Fa. M. Co.		samama			samama				
Younger Si.			tsutsuips			tsutsuips			
Younger F. Co.			tsutsuips			tsutsuips			

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

English terms	Pend d'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Younger Si.		ʔsuʊps			ʔsuʊps			kanana	
Older Si.		ʔtcice			ʔtcice			ka'tsɔ	
F. Co.		ʔtcice			ʔtcice				
Adult Si.		sgusméam			sgusméam			ka'atsʔutskɪt	
Younger Br.			sisantse			sisantse			katsiya
Younger M. Co.			sisantse			sisantse			
Elder Br.		ʔka'ka tse			ʔka'ka tse				ka't'at!
Younger Br.		sɔnce'			sin'tse			ka'ts'a'	
Younger M. Co.		sɔnce'			sin'tse				
Elder Br.		kɛtstscɔ			kɛtstscɔ				ka't'at!
Elder M. Co.		kɛtstscɔ			kɛtstscɔ				
Br. or Si. (in general)		sɔnkʰsʰ			sɔnkʰsɪgʷ				

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

English terms	Pend d'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Co. and kinsman (in general)		sank <sup>u</sup> sx			sankusig <sup>u</sup>				
Da. (after puberty)		sas <sup>u</sup> utam or stamteet			stamteet				
Si. Da.			sas <sup>u</sup> utam or stamteet			stamteet			
Da. (before puberty)		sas <sup>u</sup> tamet			cutamet				
Youngest Ch. (M or F)		steutenet			steutenet				
Middle Ch. (M or F)		skeuset			skeuset				
Oldest So. or Da.		citamicet			citamicet				
First Da. or So.		citamicet			citamicet				
So. after puberty		s <sup>u</sup> se'			skuse'			kanva <sup>u</sup>	
So. before puberty		skuskuset			skuskuset		kat <sup>u</sup> wa		ka'oo

TABLE I (CONTINUED)

English terms	Pend d'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Ch. (M or F)		sx <sup>u</sup> sixu <sup>lt</sup>			sgusig <sup>u</sup> lt				
Mo.			tú m			tóm		ka' ma	
Mo.	SKÚt(i)			SKoi					
Fa.			méstam			méstam			ka' su
Fa.	L'eu			Le'u			Kat!ctu		
Parent	Bg <sup>o</sup> t	P <sup>o</sup> g.ót			P <sup>o</sup> g.ót			ka' ákinék!	
Relatives		st <sup>u</sup> mélis			st <sup>u</sup> mélis			ka' ákinék!	



OLDER PEND D'OREILLE CONSANGUINEAL SYSTEM

MAN SPEAKING

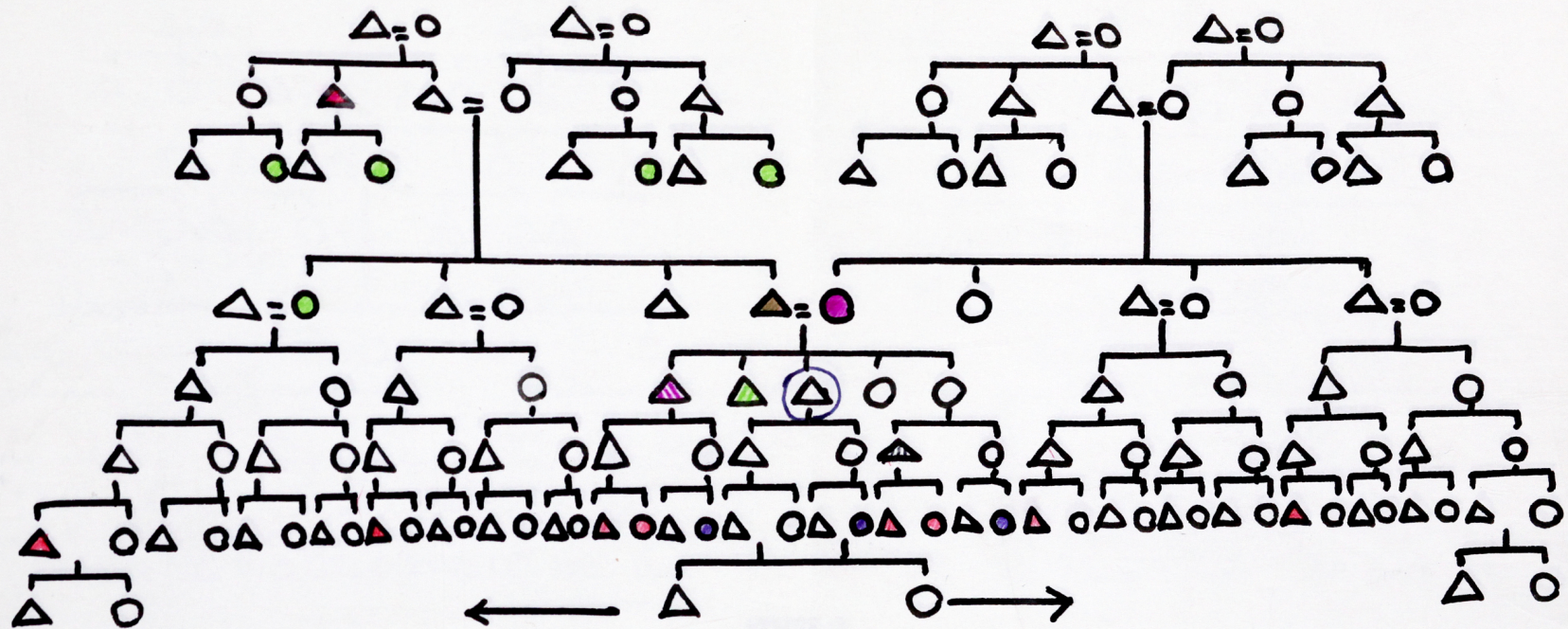


FIGURE ONE

- silé
- sāpé
- sg̃sē
- skúkwi
- sance' (younger brother)
- kētstcā (older brother)
- skútℓc

lé'u



# OLDER FEND D'OREILLE CONSANGUINEAL SYSTEM

## WOMAN SPEAKING

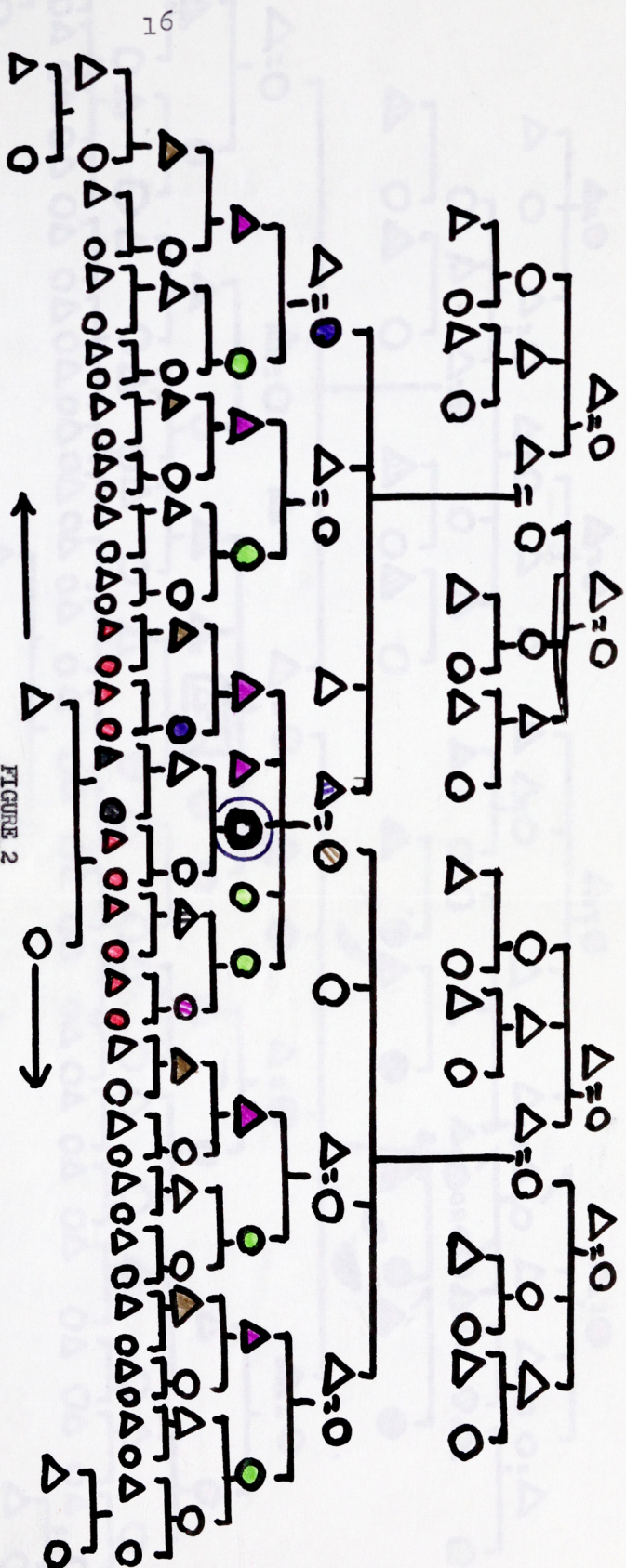


FIGURE 2

	c'ic'iyé		ɬtsutsu'is
	ge'né		sisa'ntse (elder brother or male cousin = ɬka'ka'itse)
	sɬg'g'se' (sg'se'e'ɬ)		stom'te'e'ɬ
	ti'ti'ka'e		tu'im
	sk'uk'wi		m'e'stam



# OLDER PEND D'OREILLE CONSANGUINEAL SYSTEM

MAN OR WOMAN SPEAKING

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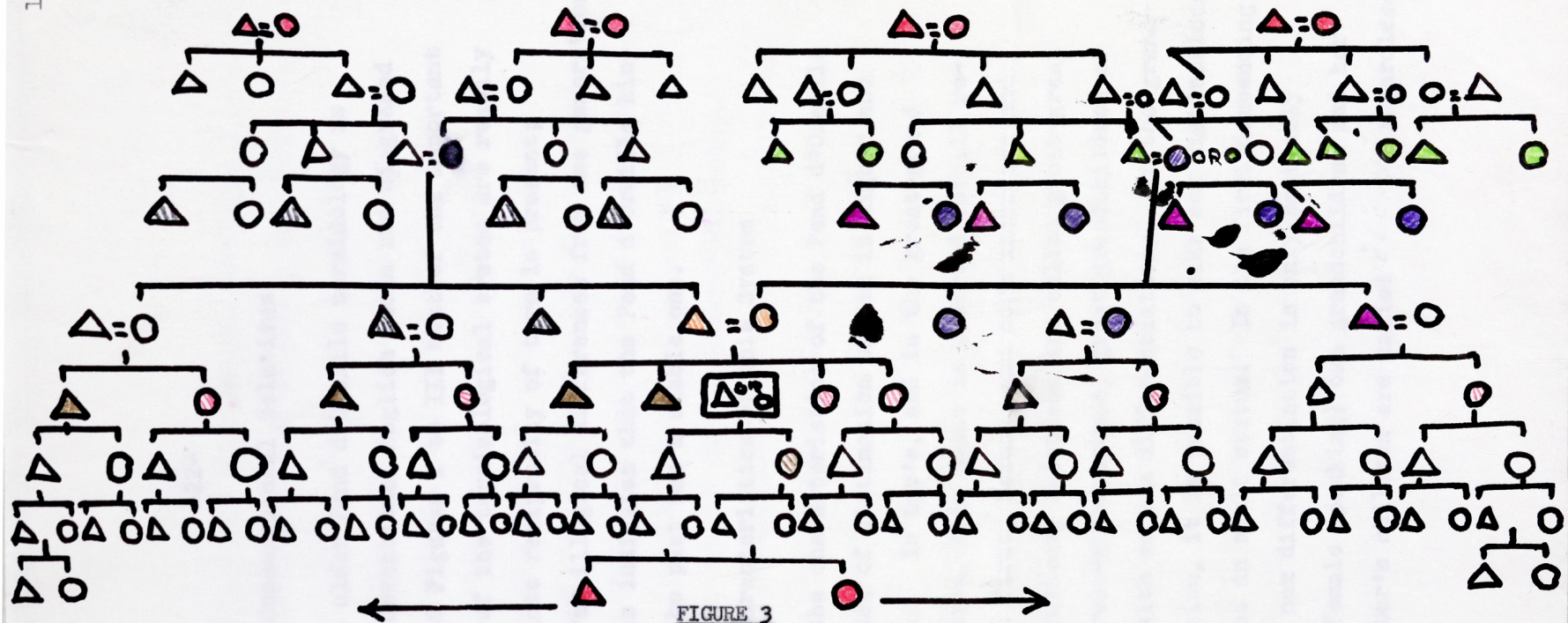


FIGURE 3

silaúwiye  
 čičiye'  
 silé'  
 gène  
 ka'ge  
 si:OR, sie'

saméel (older) samama (younger)  
 Pogst  
 ɬcice (older) tsuúps (younger) sgusméam (adult)  
 šaš'ram or stamtceé'zt  
 létstca (older), sance' (younger)  
 st'mélis

### Consanguineal Relatives

When the older Pend d'Oreille terminology is connected into conventional English terms and diagramed as in Table I and Figures I to III most of the important characteristics of the terminological system are readily apparent. Complete reciprocity of term is present; there are very few illogical differences from one generation to another. This indicates that the Pend d'Oreille kinship system of the past was a stable one.

### Characteristics of this System

One of the characteristics of the Pend d'Oreille system is the lack of distinction of sex in higher and lower generations. In ego's, and in the great-grand parental generation, this point is observed for all relatives. In the first, second, and more ascending and descending generations, relatives are called great-great grandparents, great-grandparents, great grandchildren or grandchildren with no sex differentiations. In the grandparental generation, it is possible to make sex distinctions after ego attains an adult status. In the first descending generation, the sex differentiation is only partially drawn. Ego's (female speaking) own grandchildren and her sibling's daughter's children are called *č'í č'íyé* regardless

of their sex, while terms *titikwe* and *SKUKwi* are used to differentiate between brother's daughters and brother's son. However, with one's children it is possible to make vocative sex distinctions particularly when they are small. In such cases, one may use *SKUSKUSEt* or *ss'otame't* meaning "little boy" or "little girl."

Partial recognition of relative's age is another feature of the Pend d'Oreille system. In the parental generation, one's own father and mother are designated father or mother. Father's brothers are called *sam'eel* regardless of their age or their brothers' seniority. Unlike many other systems where the older paternal uncle is big father, and the younger one is little father, the Pend d'Oreille system does not recognize this distinction and instead uses the term *sam'eel* for all of the father's brother's regardless of their age. This term changes only when the speaker's sex changes. For example, the father's sister is called *SKUKwi*, when a man is speaking and *titikwe* when a woman is speaking. A relative's age would be recognized in the case of siblings and ego's offspring where younger brother or sister have different terms from the older ones. Children, before the age of puberty, are distinguished from the adults by their terminological differences.

Another feature of this system, which is carried

to its logical extreme, is the specific terminology delineating a particular age in ego's own generation, such as, younger sister and older sister, younger brother and older brother. For example, the term *tsu'ps* is used for younger sister and *ice* for older sister, or for younger brother and *ka'katse* for older brother.

Some age distinctions are made for first descending generation. Vocatively, children sometimes are called little boy and little girl until they approach puberty when these terms are abandoned in favor of personal names. This, however, is not distinguished by their relative age. The latter occurs only occasionally in non-vocative terms when confusion of children is possible.

### Consanguineal Rules

In connection with the above characteristics, it should be recognized that the Pend d'Oreille kinship terminology falls into a certain pattern which indicates the extent and the mode of its formation. Following this pattern it is possible to ascertain certain rules which govern this system. Most of these rules are formulated when the ego is either man or woman and where both sexes use the same terms for their relatives.

1. Ego male or female: All ascendants or descendants have the same term depending on their ascendance and descendance, e.g., *PsgPsgt* for ancient ancestors or the youngest descendants. *teow'e* for great grandparents and grandchildren.

2. Ego male or female: Grandparent's siblings and ego's sibling's children and their grandchildren have the same term, *sile'*.
3. Ego male or female: Siblings, cousins, and the kinsmen in general have the same term, *sanKusx<sup>u</sup>*.
4. Ego male or female: Parent's siblings and parent's cousins have similar terms when they both are of the same sex and age. (See Table I page 13.)
5. Ego female: Grandchildren and sibling's grandchildren have the same term, *ciciye'*.



TABLE II

OLDER PEND D'OREILLE, FLATHEAD AND KUTENAI KINSHIP TERMS - KINSHIP BY MARRIAGE  
(AFFINAL)

English terms	Pend d'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Hu.		<i>sgaltamix<sup>u</sup></i> or man	<i>sxélóí</i>			<i>sgelwi</i>			
Wi.	<i>nóx<sup>u</sup>anx<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>nóg<sup>u</sup>onx<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>Katiznámu</i> or <i>Katizna</i>		
Spouse's Fa.		<i>sxāxā</i>			<i>sgag'e</i>			<i>Ka Pa Pa</i> (occasionally)	
Spouse's Fa. Br.		<i>sxāxā</i>			<i>sgag'e</i>				
Spouse's M co.		<i>sxāxā</i>			<i>sgag'e</i>				
Spouse's Mo.	<i>łtsetc</i>			<i>łtsetc</i>			1	<i>Kati'te</i>	
Si. Hu. Mo.	<i>łtsetc</i>			<i>łtsetc</i>					
So.-in-law		<i>sānēc'x<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>sinetceł<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>Ka newa'spa</i>	
Neph.-in-law		<i>sānēc'x<sup>u</sup></i>			<i>sinetceł<sup>u</sup></i>				
Niece-in-law		<i>sé'pān</i>			<i>sé'pān</i>				
Wi. Br.	<i>s'tcect</i>			<i>s'tcect</i>				<i>Ka'sk!at</i>	
Si. Hu.	<i>s'tcect</i>			<i>s'tcect</i>					

TABLE II (CONTINUED)

English term	Pend d'Oreille			Flathead			Kutenai		
	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F	M	M&F	F
Wi. Si.	seste'm			seste'm					
Br. Wi	seste'm			seste'm			Ka'atsa'		
Si. Hu.			seste'm			seste'm			
Hu. Br.			seste'm			seste'm			Ka'a'tsa'
Br. Wi.			istce'u			istce'u		Ka'atsa'	
Hu. Si.			istce'u			istce'u			
Bro. or Si.-in-law		nkwitsaten			nkwitsaten			Ka'zuna'te	
Br. or Si.-in-law's sibling (dead)		nkwitsaten			nkwitsaten				
Parent-in-law (dead)		stce'e'ep			stce'e'ep			Ka'a'tka'niyatomaʔ	
Gd. Parent-in-law		teieʔt			teieʔt				
G.P.-in-law sib.		teieʔt			teieʔt				
Step-parents		ʔve'stan			ʔve'stan				
So. or Da.-in-law's parents		segunémt			segunémt				
Step Ch.		sʔue'ʔt			sʔue'ʔt				sʔutes

OLDER PEND D'OREILLE AFFINAL SYSTEM

MAN SPEAKING

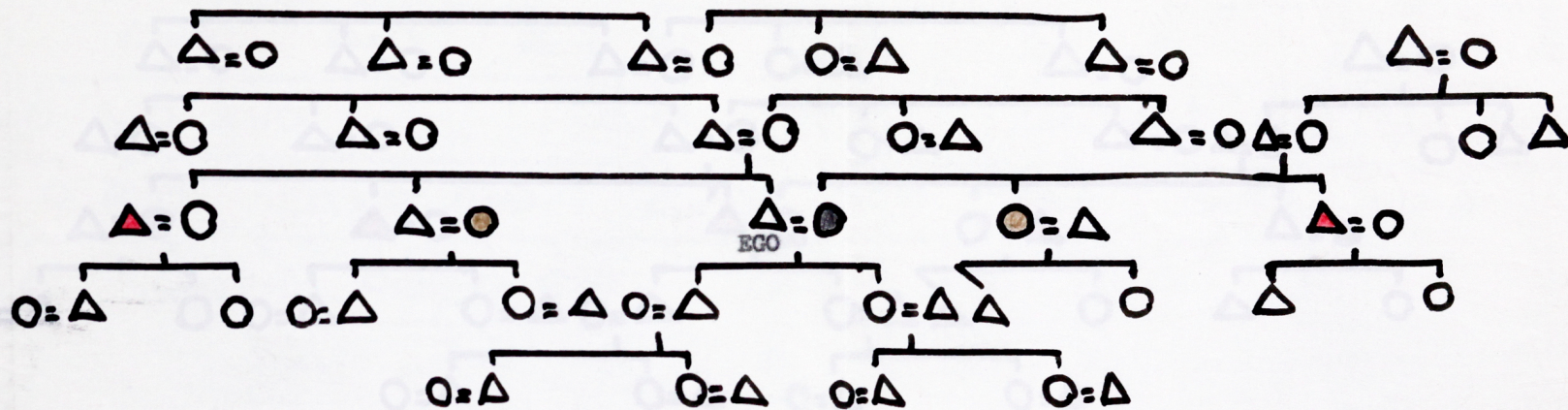





FIGURE 4

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  $\lambda\delta\chi^u\delta\eta\chi^u$   
  $\delta t c e c t$   
  $\delta e s t \acute{e} m$



OLDER PEND D'OREILLE AFFINAL SYSTEM

WOMAN SPEAKING

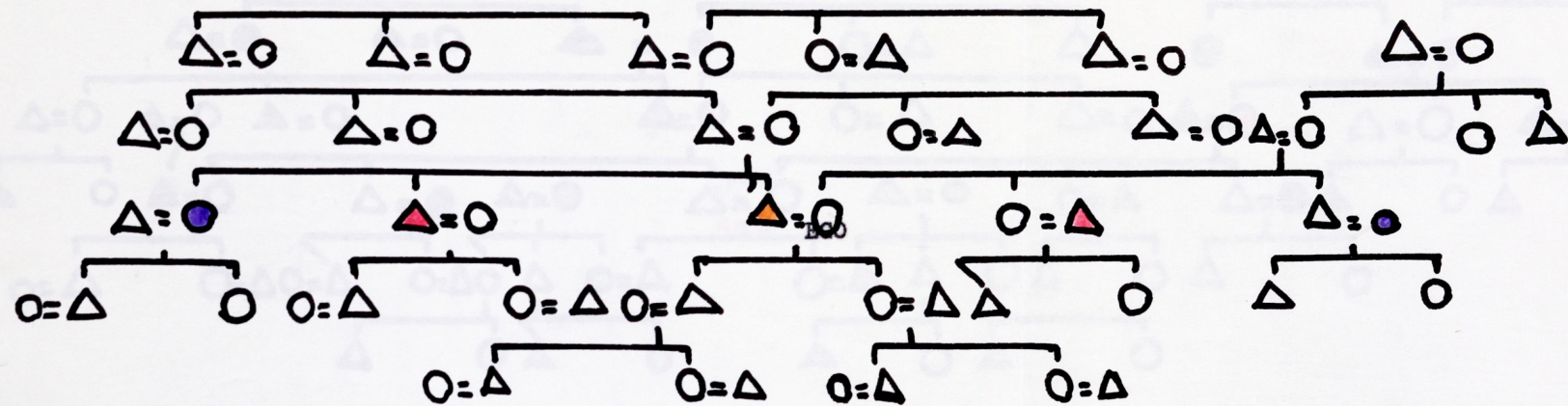


FIGURE 5

- s̄xélvi'*
- sestém*
- is'ccéu*



# OLDER PEND D'OREILLE AFFINAL SYSTEM

MAN OR WOMAN SPEAKING

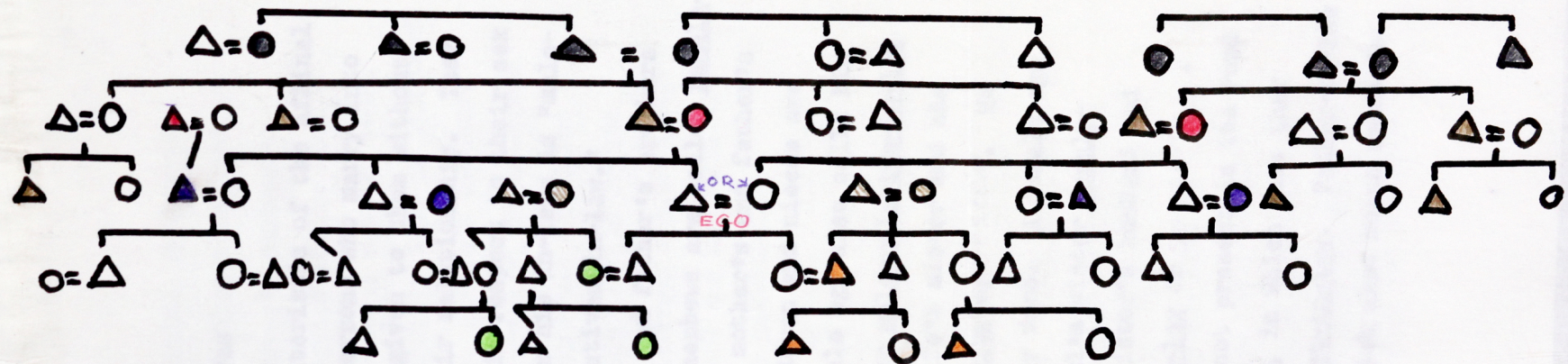









FIGURE 6

-  *sāāxē*
-  *ztsetc*
-  *sané'c'zē*
-  *sepan*
-  *nkāwitsaten (dead)*
-  *tciezt*
-  *segunémt*

### Affinal Relatives

The most important characteristic of the affinal terminology is the treatment of persons who marry into ego's family. Kinship terms are given to them without exception and in harmony with their relationship. They are also categorized and grouped in respect to their sex which means that the ego considers his in-laws as "male-relatives-in-law" and "female-relatives-in-law."

Thus, spouses of mother's and father's brothers and spouses of male children and nephews are called female-relative-in-law, while spouses of mother's and father's sisters and spouses of female children and nieces are called male-relative-in-law. A male ego also calls his sister's husband and wife's brother male-relative-in-law or *s'tceet* and may call both his wife's sister and his brother's wife female-relative-in-law or *sestem*. He normally refers to these in-laws by name. A female ego calls her brother's wife or husband's sister female-relative-in-law or *is'tceu* and her sister's husband and husband's brother male-relative-in-law or *sestem*.

The term parent-in-law is not present in the Pend d'Oreille unless they are deceased, in which case they are known as *s'tceel'p* or dead-parent-in-law. Father-in-law is recognized by the term *s'xáx'ê* which also means spouse's

father's brother and spouse's male cousin. Mother-in-law is known by the term *ʔtsetc* which also sometimes is used for a relative far removed as sister's husband's mother. No in-law avoidances are reported in the Pend d'Oreille culture but the utmost of respect was the rule.

The presence of kinship terminology such as siblings of parents-in-law, a husband's sister, a wife's brother, and children of a spouse's sister or brother, illustrates the Pend d'Oreille viewpoint which considers these individuals as relatives. Attention must be paid to the fact that these affinal relatives, although accorded kinship terms, are considered as outsiders and not real kinfolk. In Pend d'Oreille country, the genetically connected individuals are considered as real relatives. Although the blood relatives are considered important, it should be noted that the foregoing does not mean that the affinal relatives are considered unimportant.

In the past, a wife's sister *setem* was also called by the term *no'x<sup>u</sup> & n<sup>u</sup>* which means wife. This indicates the existence of sororal polygamy among the Pend d'Oreille people. "The sororate was the normal state of affairs. How far this relation might go during the life of the older sister is hard to determine, but there is fair agreement that a man did not have sexual right in his wife's younger sisters unless he took them as definite wives before all the people. Men surely did consider

themselves vested with a right to marry their wife's younger sisters as they came of age. The obligation was absolutely binding on the younger sisters, and was one which only the elder sister's husband could dissolve." <sup>16</sup>

In a somewhat similar manner, women called a sister's husband *s'técé* by name or referred to him as husband *sxé'luí*. This is consistent with former Pend d'Oreille practice of levirate. "The Salish had clear ideas regarding levirate. The next younger brother had a clear cut right to marry his brother's widow should he desire to do so." <sup>17</sup>

#### Affinal Rules

In relation with the above statements, a series of rules were extracted and formulated from the Pend d'Oreille affinal terminology as follows:

1. Ego male or female: The same term is used for spouse's immediate male family (father, his brother, and male cousin,) *sxáxé*
2. Ego male or female: There is only one term used for the spouse's immediate female kin (mother, her sister, and female cousin,) *stsetc*.
3. Ego male or female: All sisters-in-law are called by the same term, *setém*.

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<sup>16</sup> Turney High, Flathead Indians of Montana, American Anthropological Association, No. 48, p. 93-94.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid., p. 93.

4. Ego male or female: All brothers-in-law are called, *stcect*, with the exception of brother's wife and sister's husband, when ego is female, the term is then *is, tce'u*.

## CHAPTER III

### OLDER KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

#### Social Setting

The social organization of the Pend d'Oreille tribes and that of other interior Salishan people seems to have been much alike. There are no traces of clans, gentes, phratries, or privileged classes among these Indians. Signs of societies such as age groups, military or secret societies are also completely absent. "The tribe formed a unit, the members being bound together by ties of blood, association, mutual interest, methods of making a living, common country and dialect." <sup>18</sup> They were also organized into temporary villages or bands each one appearing to have been an independent unit at the time of migration. These bands consisted of a number of blood relatives who, as a rule, made their headquarters in a definite area. The members then branched off into smaller groups for the purpose of obtaining food in spring, summer, and fall. These bands were considered to have been very mobile living a nomadic life.

Management and government of these small bands

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Teit, James A., The Salishan Tribes of Western Plateaus, 45th Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology, p. 373.



was vested in a chief and a subchief or "assistant  
chief"<sup>19</sup> whose duties were to organize migration, look  
after the affairs of the band members, and advise them  
in hunting, gathering, warfare, and other activities.  
No central authority existed which governed all of these  
small bands at the time of migration.

These small independent groups at a certain time  
of the year came together forming larger units. This  
gathering usually took place during the winter months.  
The organization and management of these large units was  
governed by the tribal head chief and his council which  
consisted of the band chiefs. They formed a central  
council for the purpose of discussing and solving the  
larger problems of the tribe. The head chief was in  
charge of the tribal pipe and other ceremonial property.  
No power other than advisory rights were vested upon him.  
All matters were decided by the council of which he was  
the chairman. Through the council's advice he decided the  
policy concerning war and peace, punishments and rewards,  
and other major affairs of the tribe. "It is uncertain  
whether the head chief was also a band chief or whether  
this chieftainship was a distinct office."<sup>20</sup>

On the return to winter headquarters, the powers  
of the band chiefs declined and their responsibility was

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<sup>19</sup>  
<sup>19</sup> Ibid., p. 374.

<sup>20</sup>  
<sup>20</sup> Ibid., p. 374.



transferred to the head chief and his council. Here all of the bands were bound together forming a single large group completely dependent on the advice of their central government.

At both permanent camp sites and during migration dwellings were tents, most of them covered with skin mats. At permanent sites, in addition to their tents, they used long double lean-to lodges for meetings, dances and other gatherings.

A strong tendency for patrilocal residence existed. From the standpoint of a young married man, an ideal household would contain himself, his wife, and children, his mother and father, and sometimes his paternal grandparents and unmarried brothers. In case of an increase in population of the household, neolocality of residence was practiced and the young couple, with their offspring, would move out to make a home of their own. A tent and other household goods were usually furnished for them by the paternal grandparents and the husband's own parents. In the case of epidemics and other calamities informants say that the wife and her children were sent to the other villages to live with her parents or relatives.

In Pend d'Oreille thinking, houses belonged to individuals and not families, although in many cases the paternal grandparents lived with their children. As long as they were not supporting this large extended family

and did not personally own the property, they had no rights to interfere with the affairs of their children or grandchildren. Their advice was most welcome but their direct interference was politely rejected. The owner of the house, who was always the father of the family, to a large extent controlled activities of the people who lived under his roof. When he died his older brother usually took control.

We can conclude the old Pend d'Oreille social setting by saying that it produced an individual who always lived a great portion of his life near his family and relatives. In each village and under each teepee lived the person's relatives, in-laws, and three or more generations of their consanguineal and affinal kin. Since kinship terms were extended to blood relatives and relatives by marriage, they can be traced through the temporary and permanent villages. It is therefore apparent that kinship practices were not only confined to the time of birth, marriage, and death, but were also used in everyday affairs and contacts in house or village.

### Kinship Practices of Larger Family Units

The following illustrates the kinship behavior of the pairs of opposing relatives in an older Pend d'Oreille family. The fact is that this behavior does not only take place between two individuals and the family, it also occurs in the behavior and reciprocal activities which take place between members of several families. To clarify and better illustrate the above statement, I will briefly consider such kin behavior below.

In the Pend d'Oreille social organization one can not help but notice that marriages were arranged not only to bring together two individuals but were arranged between two families for the purpose of unity and mutual help. Almost always the young man's family initiated proceedings through a go-between. This go-between was usually the mother or a female relative of the boy. She asked the girl's parents if they were willing to give their daughter in marriage. In the case of a favorable answer both families got together to arrange the wedding. Although theoretically marriage was supposed to be approved by all the members of both families, the acceptance or refusal of its consummation was almost entirely up to parental decision. Informants report very unusual cases where the girl's family or relatives in authority have

taken the initiative and offered their daughter for marriage to the groom's family. This practice must have taken place under very unusual circumstances since it always hurts the prestige of the girl's family. After the mutual agreement of both families, gifts were given to the father of the bride and a joint feast was held by the two groups. Wedding by public acknowledgement of cohabitation was, and still is, practiced among these Indians. This type of marriage, however, has never been considered to be a respectable one and the families of both sides try to avoid or stop such matrimonial practices.

Pregnant women were well cared for and challenging or arguing with them was prohibited. They were supposed to remain calm and happy during their pregnancy. It happened quite frequently that the Pend d'Oreille husbands considering the interest of their family's comfort and peace, took their pregnant wives back to their parent's home until after the birth of the infant. Her own mother and her mother-in-law and sister-in-law usually acted the part of the mid-wife. This job was always gladly performed without any compensation. However, if a neighbor or any other woman helped as midwife her services were handsomely rewarded. The husband did not stay with his wife at this time. He usually returned to his parent's place and stayed with them until the child was born. Men were not allowed

to attend or watch the childbirth. The whole affair was considered the responsibility of the women of both families. In extraordinary cases where birth was difficult and outside help was needed, a shaman or a specialist was summoned.

After the child was born, it was washed and cleaned and put on the breast to be nursed. Wet nurses were hired when mothers did not have sufficient milk for the baby's nourishment. The "lying-in" period was never observed by these people. After the first two days women usually got up and went about their domestic tasks.

An excellent example of interaction between families concerns gift offering which was done with much ritual. Before birth, gifts were compiled, clothes and cradles were made with the mutual help of the families concerned. This could be interpreted as a symbol of the cooperation and union of the two families. Two weeks after birth the child went through a formal naming ceremony. Its parents invited some of the elderly and respectable people of the village to their lodge and after feasting asked them to name the infant. Appropriate names were mentioned, the best was picked out and approved by the parents. Often ancestral names were given to the new born and according to informants these names were ordinarily taken from the

maternal family of the child.

Bride service, according to its classical form, did not exist among these Indians, although the future groom knowing of his betrothal would often help his future father-in-law in hunting, fishing, sharing of meat, care of horses and other tasks. His prestige was actually increased or reduced through his ability to provide and his success or failure in warfare.

A daughter-in-law was expected to be obedient to her husband and helpful towards his family. If the extended family organization existed and the couple shared the paternal lodge, the woman was expected to participate in cooking, digging, and gathering which was done for the whole group. To return these services, her mother-in-law and sister-in-law helped her family and sent gifts and firewood to her mother.

In the absence of the husband the utmost of fidelity and respect toward his family was expected from the wife. On his return from an expedition her loyalty and fidelity was generously rewarded.

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While some of the informants agree with this, others completely deny it. However, all agree that the girl's name was chosen from the maternal side of the family and the boy's name from his paternal generation.

When a person became sick and it appeared to be serious, all the close friends and relatives were asked to come to help. In the event of death, all of the deceased's family and friends gathered to mourn and help with the burial. After death the members of the deceased's family were visited by many non-relatives who came to mourn with the family.

During the period of mourning, the bereaved person's hair was supposed to be cut off close to the scalp. No other bodily mutilations are reported among the Pend d'Oreille.

The widow or widower after the burial went to the hills to pray for a period of four days. During this period they wore ragged clothes, used no facial or bodily paint, and avoided all ornamentation. At the end of these four days the mourner went to live with his (her) in-laws for a period of one year.

A sweat bathing and smoking ceremony was held to terminate the mourning period. Among the attendants the spouse was also included. At this time the family of the deceased was re-equipped with household goods by blood and affinal relatives.

In general, relatives, and particularly extended relatives, were obligated to help each other and cooperate in each other's economic activities. Making camp, pitch-

ing tents, cutting poles for the frame work of the lodge and other such activities were all shared by men and women of the family. Sometimes cousins, distant relatives, and friends also participated in such tasks and in return expected help from their relatives and friends.

### Respect and Joking

The classic definition of the relationships, JOKING and RESPECT and their extreme limits, do not exist among the Pend d'Oreille. They do not categorize people on the basis of respect and joking as among many other Indian tribes of North America. Blood and affinal relatives both are respected and fit into a more relaxed behavior category. Once two families got together by means of wedlock, both entered a stage of unity and perpetual relationship. Hence, in the Pend d'Oreille behavioral pattern, it is evident that the respect and joking relationships, though mildly practiced, include both the blood and affinal relatives. One pattern easily traced seems to have formed in conjunction with their behavior. Individuals of adjacent generations respected each other while individuals of the same or sometimes of the alternate generations exhibited joking behavior. Respect and joking varied in intensity and ranged from the extreme respect (but no avoidance) to the milder form of behaving in a decorous manner. No extreme sexual joking of any kind is reported among these people. It should also be pointed out



that respect and joking behavior does not always correlate with the terminology. For example, a man and his sister's husband joked while a man and his father's sister's husband could not; while both were termed male-relative-in-law.

#### RESPECT RELATIONSHIPS

Parent-Child. The most important figures in the life of a Pend d'Oreille individual were the mother and father. They were completely responsible for their children's physical and social development. However, the first few years of the child's life were spent entirely under the care of the mother and some of the close female relatives. The provision of physical necessities such as food, water, warmth, and dryness were the mother's task, who was usually assisted by her mother or grandmother, or her mother-in-law and sister-in-law. During these first few years the father was not obligated to share the burden. He, from time to time, picked the child up to play with it but never considered it his duty to bathe, feed, or dress his child. He spent much less time with the child than did the mother. Many activities such as warfare, hunting, participation in dances and other ceremonies kept him away from the home and consumed a great deal of his time for domestic chores. Often, at his leisure, he would spend his time elsewhere in visiting and gambling. Until the child reached two or three years

of age, the mother was always available to take care of it. Whenever the baby was not held in the mother's arms, it was placed in the baby carrier near her. This carrier or cradle board was even carried on her back into the field where she dug roots or picked berries. It was important that she make herself available to the infant instantly if he needed her. During the suckling period the baby was even taken to bed with the mother so that she might nurse him. Pend d'Oreille babies were never allowed to cry for a long period of time. The mother always considered it one of her duties to pick him up as soon as he cried and soothe and comfort him. Women who left babies crying for an extended length of time were actually scolded by their own mother or their in-laws. A baby's crying was considered to be the indication of hunger, thirst, sleepiness, wetness, or desire to be taken out of the cradle board.

The above illustrates the actual physical contact between the mother and child. The mother, however, was not the only person to fondle the child; it was played with and loved by the other members of the family as well.

Children were not weaned until they were two to three years old and in some cases were even nursed for longer periods. This nursing sometimes was not terminated until after the mother was pregnant again and even

occasionally after the new baby was born. Weaning was not a sudden change, but took place more or less gradually during the time the child was taught how to eat. Some kinds of porridge and broth were fed to the child to supplement his milk diet. Later on, when the child became older, varieties of soft food were given to him. If a child was difficult to wean, certain methods were used to make him ignore the breast. Among these methods the most effective was to cause the child to be disinterested by making the breast unattractive or bitter tasting. Young willow boughs were broken and the sap was applied to the nipple in order to make it bitter and undesirable. As an alternative, the mother would sometimes go off for a few days, leaving the child with her female relatives. The latter method was also quite effective.

Toilet training was executed gradually and untrained children were never scolded or treated harshly. They were simply reminded that they should next time go to the woods.

The child's body was not mutilated until he was old enough to wear the tribe's traditional earring for which they were named by the French, *Pend d'Oreille*. They usually pierced the ears of both sexes.

Sex education took place in a very informal manner. Children could not help but notice their parent's sexual activities in their close quarters. They were exposed to it and their questions were usually answered by their grandparents.

Children were generally given enough freedom to do as they pleased though there were certain restrictions imposed upon them. Stealing or taking other people's property was considered a major misbehavior. A child was also not supposed to take part in activities that would harm him. They were kept away from the father's weapons and his medicine bundle. Grabby children were scolded and sometimes very lightly punished but never severely chastized for such activities.

Discipline of the children started when they were old enough to recognize right from wrong. During earlier years, the child was disciplined only by his mother or older sister. If he insisted on misbehaving he was scolded and perhaps slapped gently. In disciplining the child a non-related individual never participated since this was strictly the duty of the immediate members of the family.

There is also a clear tradition of a systematic frightening of naughty children by a personage called Spotted Face. Whether this individual was a specific camp bogeyman or just a member of the family is hard to tell. He had one of his arms painted black and the other red, and he was armed with a red stick with which he would threaten to impale a refractory child. His face was made hideous by a mask of hide, horribly painted with livid spots. 22

After the arrival of new siblings, the amount of attention given to the child was reduced. Older children were not tended by their mother as were the new infants. Reduction of maternal attention was always balanced through grandparental love and affection which increased as the child grew up. Thus it appears that the mother was a primary figure only in the early life of a male infant, while this does not hold true in the case of her daughters where she continued to remain very important in their later development.

As a boy grew older, his father gradually assumed the chief role in his education. It was traditionally a father's duty to his son to train him to become a proud Pind d'Oreille. He was taught to make bows and arrows of his own, also to make arrow heads and fashion bow strings out of sinew. When he grew up a bit more, he was taught to shoot, to wrestle, and to run foot races. He was also shown the tricks of hiding and creeping for long distances. At this period in their life, children were never allowed to wander away far from camp at any time. A father saw to it that his boy was physically hardened. He had the right to lecture and correct his children, but most of his attention was invested in his boys rather than his daughters. As a rule, a father was not supposed to exercise physical punishment on his children and would be criticised for undertaking such activities.

A mother's primary obligation was to teach her daughter all the expected duties of a Pend d'Oreille woman. This included various aspects of a woman's work such as cooking, food preservation, root digging, berrying, and making of skin and cloth apparel.

The mother had the main control over her daughter. She taught her to carry out her orders immediately and efficiently. This control would sometimes continue even after the daughter's marriage.

Other Respect Relationships. Parental siblings (both maternal and paternal) and their nephews and nieces were generally respected. Nothing out of the way was said to them or in front of them about sex, and teasing or having critical attitude towards them was prohibited. One was always ready to defend his relatives and if they were criticized or teased a verbal protest was made against the criticizer or teaser. One was not supposed to laugh or join in such activities as joking with other relatives. Children were supposed to be proud of their parental siblings and their abilities, achievements, and assets. This prideful attitude corresponds with the feeling of shame over the failure of respect for relatives.

Parent-in-law-Child-in-law. Utmost of respect was expected from the children-in-law toward their parents-in-law. It should be remembered that this respect was never

carried to the extreme to create in-law avoidance. These relatives were always careful not to offend each other in any way.

Son-in-law-Parent-in-law. No bride service was expected from the future son-in-law, but he sometimes helped his father-in-law in many of his tasks. In return, his father-in-law might pass on to him possessions, ceremonial knowledge, or political office.

Daughter-in-law-Mother-in-law. A daughter-in-law was expected to help her husband's mother and sister. She would show them respect by cooking a certain dish and taking it to them. On occasion, she would bring firewood. In return her mother-in-law would give her presents and send firewood or other gifts to her daughter-in-law's parents.

Son-in-law-Mother-in-law. A son-in-law was fully respected by his mother-in-law. As a symbol of respect she would prepare special dishes for him and if he returned victorious from a war party, she would give things away in his honor.

Great-Grandparent-Great-Grandchild. Most behavior among these relatives consisted of generally being helpful such as in child care. While they lived, their own

names were given to their great grandchildren. The reason for this was to bolster the aged one's pride in their descendents.

Other respect relatives were established among the sibling of parent-in-law-child-in-law.

### Joking Relationship

Brother-Brother. The Pend d'Oreille extended the brother-sister terms not only to "blood" brothers, but also to first cousins. However, behavior towards the "blood" brothers and classificatory brothers was not identical.

A mild joking relationship was exhibited between blood brothers. Teasing each other was licensed but excessive frequency of such activities tended to be undesirable. This kind of joking concerned little things they had done or possibly a teasing of one another about some girl.

Beside joking and teasing, there were other duties involved in this relationship. The oldest brother played a great role in his younger brother's education while they all participated in the care of the family property. It was the prime duty of brothers to protect each other in the battle field. On such occasions the older brother always went first while saying to his brother, "Day will be done soon and I may not see you again. You always



take care of yourself

Real brothers always borrowed each other's property but its return was imperative. The status of brothers in the family always depended on their age. The oldest one was disciplinarian and also a provider. The status, however, was not permanent and would change if the latter failed to fulfill his duties and keep his prestige. It should be noted that a certain amount of respect was expected from the younger brothers and so the degree of joking could be considered as very mild since discipline ordinarily is not consistent with too much familiarity.

Male cousins, who were also called brothers, were expected to joke and tease mildly whenever they met. No sexual familiarity was allowed between male and female cousins who addressed each other as brothers and sisters.

Brother-Sister. The relationship between brother and sister is very similar to that of brother and brother. Real sisters and brothers had a mild joking relationship while the intensity of the joking increased a bit more in the case of cousins. Though a joking relationship prevailed between brothers and sisters, the matters of discipline and mutual obligations were not indeed forgotten. They were supposed to be considerate and helpful towards each other and to have a strong bond between them.

Brothers were considered protectors of their sisters and their reputation. In return a sister would look after her brother by making him shirts and moccasins and sometimes even cooking special dishes for him. If she asked her brother for something she was never refused.

The Pend d'Oreille seemed to worry greatly over possible breaches of incest regulations between siblings. They never allowed the sisters and brothers to sleep in one bed, though they did not mind if they were left alone by themselves in the woods or in camp.

Sister-Sister. Joking relationship existed between the sisters but it was of a very mild nature. Similarly very little teasing was licensed between them. They always worked together and shared everything. In some cases two sisters could stay together all their life and get married to the same man.

Sisters were expected to cooperate in the domestic work but usually the younger sister did the hard work for the family.

Cooperation and mutual help was evident between the classificatory sisters. This was apparent during the digging and gathering time when all the blood sisters and cousins joined to help each other in order to obtain a larger amount of food material.

Grandparent-Grandchild. The relation between these relatives was of a non-reciprocal joking type. Grandparents took the liberty of joking mildly with their grandchildren; while grandchildren were not supposed to retaliate. Grandparents are known to have spoiled their grandchildren and also to have stood up in their defense. Grandchildren, on the other hand, looked up to and were proud of their grandparents and boasting about them was customary.

Grandparents also helped look out for the education and welfare of their grandchildren. Grandfathers taught boys the methods of making bows and arrows and told them stories concerning the tribal history, background, and religious myths.

Husband-Wife. In the Pend d'Oreille culture, the husband-wife relationship should be included in the mild joking category which also involved respect. It definitely was not pure joking or respect. Actually if there was any joking done between the spouses it always was of a mild nature.

Separation and divorce was common and was carried out at the will of the couple. In cases such as cruelty, abuse, and desertion the wife's family was entitled to take their daughter away. This, however, did not happen unless the girl's case was very good indeed.

There were no specific causes for divorce, nor did the act necessarily imply social culpability on the part of the divorced. A husband might leave his wife just because he was tired of her. In spite of the wife's theoretical right to divorce, such complete freedom was seldom exercised.<sup>24</sup>

The consideration of household economic activities would include the full treatment of a husband-wife relationship. Labor was divided according to sex and physical ability of the couple. A wife helped in picking berries, digging roots, tanning hides, cooking, preserving food, tending children, and other duties; a man hunted, fished, and took part in the protection of his family and tribe.

The author was not able to gather any data in regard to husband-wife sexual relations. All informants frankly refuse to talk about such matters and are reluctant to verbalize on this subject. Turney-High, however, has apparently been able to furnish us with a little information about the Kalispell and Flathead sexual affairs between husband and wife by saying that:

(They) recognize the exciting nature of lip titillation and are great kissers when affectionate. The kiss is made by applying the lips to those of the beloved, frequently using the tongue but employing no suctional smack.

The sex act was performed with the male in the superior position and no alternatives are reported.<sup>25</sup>

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<sup>24</sup>

Op. cit., p. 96.

<sup>25</sup>

Op. cit., p. 96.

As indicated from the available data, it is apparent that the Pend d'Oreille marriage bonds were of a semi-brittle nature. A variety of blood kin obligations which conflicted with those of the in-laws constantly created a great amount of tension. These stresses eventually lead to separations where a person preferred his blood relatives to his affinal kin. Birth of children always cemented the relationships of the couples and their families.

In Pend d'Oreille culture men were not supposed to show emotions over women. They believed that by getting emotional over a problem a solution could not be reached. The attitude was that there are always plenty of women available. If one can not get along with his present wife, he could find another one.

Pend d'Oreille spouses slept together in the same bed in their teepee, which in turn was sometimes shared with the husband's parents and siblings. After the arrival of their children and an increase in the size of the family, the couple moved away occupying a separate and an independent tent.

Husbands and wives could tease each other moderately. They could also censure one another's actions. Joking between spouses seems to have had little sexual connotation, though privately such joking may have been practiced.

Relations between husbands and wives was by no

means always all frictional. There were many affectionate spouses who lived a life full of love and companionship. A man could show his affection by cutting meat for his wife or sharing her domestic duties while the woman could show her love by being a good housekeeper and cook and by keeping her husband neat and nice looking.

Other relatives who came under the category of mild joking relationship were Sister's Husband-Wife's Brother and Husband's Sister-Brother's Wife. These pairs of relatives had the same terminology in Pend d'Oreille language with their reciprocal behavior being the indicator of such terminological similarity.

## CHAPTER IV

### CLASSIFICATION OF PEND D'OREILLE JOKING AND RESPECT RELATIONSHIP AND THEIR THEORETICAL CONSIDERATION

In Pend d'Oreille culture as we have mentioned before, the classical joking and respect relationships are not carried to their extreme limits. By that we mean that obligatory jokings and in-law avoidance does not exist. The joking and respect relationships are both of mild nature and are practiced on democratic basis. Following is a summary of Pend d'Oreille joking and respect behavior categories.

#### RESPECT

Parent-Child  
Parental Siblings-Siblings Child  
Parent-in-law-Child-in-law  
Son-in-law-Parent-in-law  
Daughter-in-law-Mother-in-law  
Son-in-law-Mother-in-law  
Great-grandparent-Great-grandchild  
Sibling of Parent-in-law-Child-in-law

#### JOKING

Brother-Brother  
Brother-Sister  
Sister-Sister  
Husband-Wife  
Sister's husband-Wife's brother  
Husband's sister-Brother's wife

#### NON-RECIPROCAL JOKING

Grandparent-Grandchild

Concerning the category of respect, there are a number of uncertainties in sealing the relationships. All relatives involved here are due respect behavior, but the kind of behavior varies with the relationship. The intensity of these respect relationships cannot be measured easily with our present data. If they are ranked on the basis of intensity of interaction, then the Parent-Child, Parental Siblings-Sibling's Children, and Parent-in-law-Child-in-law would be the most important. The difficulty in sealing these relationships arises because the frequency of interaction changes with age. For example, in childhood the Parent-Child relationship would be ranked first while in adulthood the Parent-in-law relationship might be. As for emotional intensity, the relationship between parent's sibling and sibling's child appears to generate the strongest feeling. Thus it is much easier to judge the intensity of joking behavior. The relationships between real siblings and between husband and wife have very mild joking and marked overtones of respect. While the details of respect and joking differ somewhat between these sets of relatives, similarities as to the relative amount of joking allowed and the nature of the joking indicate that they belong in the same category.

The relation between classificatory siblings also resembles the sibling-sibling behavior. They are of mild



nature and very little or no sexual approaches are reported.

Grandparent-Grandchild relationship presents an altogether different type of behavior. It is of a non-reciprocal nature where the grandparents are licenced to carry a joking relationship with their grandchildren, but do not expect them to reciprocate. Grandchildren are supposed to have nothing but respect relationships with their grandparents, and exhibit a greater amount of respect for them than for their own parents..

The Pend d'Oreille's own explanation of joking and respect behavior are largely in terms of ideal patterns, of how aunts and nephews or grandfathers and grandchildren should behave. They partially realize that there is some variance in actual behavior, that some individuals, for example, are known as "teasers" while on the other hand there are people who do not take teasing graciously. Pend d'Oreille are satisfied with this first level and analysis; they are content to explain joking and respect behavior in customary terms saying that certain relatives are treated thus and so because that is the right way and to do otherwise would be wrong. But anthropologists will immediately face a number of theoretical conceptualizations. These theories are formulated to facilitate the understanding of joking and respect behaviors. We have chosen here to consider the Pend d'Oreille data in the light of

Eggan and Murdock.

Eggan sees respect and joking as alternative mechanisms for regulating social conflicts.<sup>26</sup> There are certain weak points in a social structure at which there are possibilities of strain, and conflicts arising at these points tend to be resolved in terms of respect and joking. This approach is inclusive as compared to that of Murdock, who says that "no single hypothesis can explain the behavior associated with the various respect and joking relationships."<sup>27</sup>

Eggan's hypothesis is that the intensity of the joking-respect relationships is correlated with the inevitableness of the conflict. On the basis of his Cheyenne and Arapaho material, he thus defines four joking and respect categories:<sup>28</sup>

1. Respect relationship: where there is some possibility of conflict and the social necessity for avoiding it.
2. Mild joking relationship: where there is some possibility of conflict but no particular necessity for avoiding it.
3. Avoidance relationship: where the conflict situation is inevitable, where there is the social necessity for avoiding it and where generation differences are present.
4. Obligatory joking relationship: where the conflict situation is inevitable, where there

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<sup>26</sup> Eggan, F., Social Anthropology of North American Tribes, p. 80.

<sup>27</sup> Murdock, J. P., Social Structure, p. 273.

<sup>28</sup> Op. cit.. p. 79.

is social necessity of avoiding it, but where no difference of generation is involved.

In the following paragraphs we shall briefly examine the Pend d'Oreille respect and joking relationship.

The Pend d'Oreille respect relationship, as we know, is primarily only respect and not avoidance. The relatives subject to respect relationship are Parent-Child, Parent's Siblings-Sibling's Child, Parent-in-law-Child-in-law (of either sex,) Great-grandparent-Great-grandchild, Sibling of Parent-in-law-Child-in-law. Eggan's "respect" relationship fits these relatives. Returning to the description of their behavior, we can see that between each of them exists some possibility of conflict but "the social necessity for avoiding these conflicts" is not always present.

In the Pend d'Oreille Parent-Child behavior a universal relationship pattern becomes prevalent. Parents are usually providers of food and physical necessities of their children, as well as givers of affection. They are also the principal educators of the children, teaching them their culture and way of life. In order to fulfill these social obligations, they must exercise a great deal of authority and expect thorough obedience since they are the primary transmitters of their social heritage. Their

position will make it socially necessary to avoid any conflicts.

The parent's siblings hold nearly a similar position to that of the parents. They are fond of their nephews and nieces and feel concerned for their welfare. But they are not considered to be the primary figures in an individual's life and socialization, however, there would seem to be no particular social necessity for avoiding conflict. According to Eggan's definition, this will fit his "mild joking" category, while in reality joking of any kind is unthought of between an individual and his parent's siblings.

In the case of the Father-in-law-Son-in-law relationship there is a possibility of conflict but probably not an inevitability of such. The son-in-law is an outsider to his wife's family and usually lives independently outside of their household. Yet, he always remains cooperative with him in various economic activities. Since the son-in-law and father-in-law live apart and in separate households, and independently run their own lives and affairs except for the occasional contacts, no likelihood of any serious conflicts will remain. However, to keep the marriage functioning and durable, a social necessity for avoiding any conflict becomes evident. This form of organization does not leave any room for the extreme respect relationship (in-law avoidance.)

With regard to Mother-in-law-Daughter-in-law, there is some possibility of conflict between the husband-wife relationship and mother-son relationship.<sup>29</sup> If the mother-in-law and the daughter-in-law live in the same lodge (as they usually do in the beginning of marriage) conflict becomes inevitable. But since after the birth of the first child or sometimes sooner, the new couple moves out and occupies a new home there will remain no necessity for avoiding conflict. This, however, does not eliminate the desirability for avoiding conflict, since strife between mother-in-law and daughter-in-law could in any case have serious repercussions on the husband-wife relationship.

The cases of mother-in-law-son-in-law and father-in-law-daughter-in-law are of respect and very similar to those of father-in-law-son-in-law and mother-in-law-sister-in-law.

The Pend d'Oreille blood sibling relationships are all of a mild joking nature. Eggan's definition of "mild joking" partially fits this category. In all of these relationships there exists the possibility of conflict. In the kinship system, siblings of the same sex are considered equal and no distinction is made between them.

After he is married, the son still has a strong attachment to his mother's household and in cases of neolocality of residence he frequently returns to visit.

This status, however, changes with the seniority in age. The older siblings usually have authority over their younger brothers or sisters. A mutual affection and respect for each other always exists among siblings, with more disciplinarian rights over sisters vested to brothers. Both, however, have the privilege of correcting and criticizing each other. Since all are members of the same household for a while, and all must cooperate for the economic welfare of the family, an avoidance of conflict would seem almost mandatory. Thus while the first part of Eggan's definition of mild joking is fulfilled, there is some question about the second part, "no particular necessity for avoiding conflict."

As the years go by and the siblings grow up and no longer remain members of the same household, their relationship becomes more distinct. Correspondingly an increase of joking and decrease of respect appears in their relationship. A great deal of respect, however, is retained between brother and sister which could be related to nothing but their difference of sex. This conclusion may force us to classify the real siblings' relationship in a "joking-respect" category.

Eggan's hypothesis concerning respect and joking behavior as a whole is supported by most of the Pend d'Oreille kinship data. Difficulties encountered in the

brief Pend d'Oreille testing were due to common problems of the social sciences such as inexactness of terminology. The main question was that of exactly what "inevitability" and "social necessity for avoiding conflict" meant.

In regard to the latter, the point could be argued for a near-necessity, at least, of avoiding conflict in all Pend d'Oreille relationships. Having many relatives was a good thing among the Pend d'Oreille people. Persons who lacked this were considered poor, with no one to help them. Cooperation of relatives at any time and especially at times of crisis was needed and necessary. Thus maintenance of good terms with one's relatives was essential and important.

## CHAPTER V

### MODERN KINSHIP TERMINOLOGY

The present day situation regarding kinship terminology is difficult to ascertain and perhaps even more difficult to present coherently. The Pend d'Oreille older terminological system was internally consistent. The teen age generation of this tribe is now using a near-English system which could also be considered consistent. But this consistency could not be expected from the terminology used by the middle aged groups, where it becomes highly variable.

For this study of modern kinship terminology younger and teen age Pend d'Oreille informants were interviewed and their geneology and terminology was collected. Most of these informants were not full blood Pend d'Oreille and a few of them had a high percentage of white blood. They were the only possible Pend d'Oreille young or teen age informants on the reservation. My time and budget did not allow me to inquire further and penetrate more deeply into the Washington Pend d'Oreille territory in order to obtain additional information.

Some of the informants reported the present day kinship terms. This was to an extent similar to the



older Pend d'Oreille system, though it was not as lengthy and detailed. Other individuals of the young English speaking group reported schedules which are completely reciprocal in so far as they go, but which differ from the older system. These variations of kinship schedules are particularly good examples of change from the "older" type toward that used by the younger Pend d'Oreille generation.

To clarify and better present the new system, I will explain and analyze the one used by the younger Pend d'Oreille people. This system is diagrammed in figure 8. Since younger Pend d'Oreille for the most part do not speak Salish, the terms given are the actual terms used by informants. The essential features of the system are as follows:

Vocatively parents are DADDY and MAMMA or MOM; non-vocatively in English they are MY DADDY or MY FATHER and MY MOTHER; and in Salish the same is used in a vocative form MOTHER or FATHER. Parent's siblings are vocatively called by name and non-vocatively in English referred to as MY UNCLE and MY AUNT but in Salish are called according to their relation to the maternal or paternal sides. If the terms uncle or aunt are used for reference to affinal relatives, they are usually qualified as MY UNCLE or AUNT BY MARRIAGE. Grandparents and their

spouses, their siblings and their spouses, are vocatively and non-vocatively called GRANDFATHER, GRANDMOTHER and their cousins are called COUSINS or UNCLES and AUNTS. They all could be referred to by their names. In the third ascending generation all the relatives are GREAT-GRANDFATHER and GREAT-GRANDMOTHER. In ego's own generation siblings are BROTHER and SISTER and children of all uncles are COUSINS. Ego's own children are SONS or DAUGHTERS and sibling's children are referred to as NEPHEWS and NIECES. The conventional American affinal terms are used for the in-laws; such as BROTHER-IN-LAW, SISTER-IN-LAW, SON-IN-LAW, DAUGHTER-IN-LAW, MOTHER-IN-LAW, and FATHER-IN-LAW. The term WIFE or HUSBAND is used to designate only ego's wife or husband.

It should be explained further that the younger generation has formed a habit of using wide lateral extension of terms. This characteristic could be considered a link between the older and the younger systems and is learned from parents and other relatives, who often say, "So and so is your uncle, he's a cousin of your mother," or "So and so is your cousin, he's a cousin of your grandfather."

We may stress the point here by mentioning that in modern Pen d'Oreille terminology, English terms are used almost entirely non-vocatively. Parents may sometimes be called by their name but this does not occur

very frequently. AUNT and UNCLE may be used vocatively but not necessarily so. Brothers, sisters, cousins and grandchildren, brothers-in-law and sisters-in-law, and even sons-in-law and daughters-in-law are addressed by personal names or by nicknames. Grandparents are called vocatively and very rarely referred to non-vocatively or by personal names.

#### Statement of Classifications

The individual kinship terminologies reported by the bilingual middle and younger Pend d'Oreille groups still fall within Murdock's classification. According to him the Pend d'Oreille tribes who are very similar to the Flathead groups fall under the PATRI-HAWAIIAN type,<sup>30</sup> since the following elements are present in their kinship system:

- a. Bilateral descent.
- b. Hawaiian type cousin terms.
- c. Patrilocal residence.
- d. Clans and demes are absent.
- e. Bilateral kindred is present.
- f. Bilateral extension of incest taboos present, Here all first cousins are ineligible in marriage under bilateral descent.

PEND D'ORIELL TEEN-AGE TERMINOLOGY

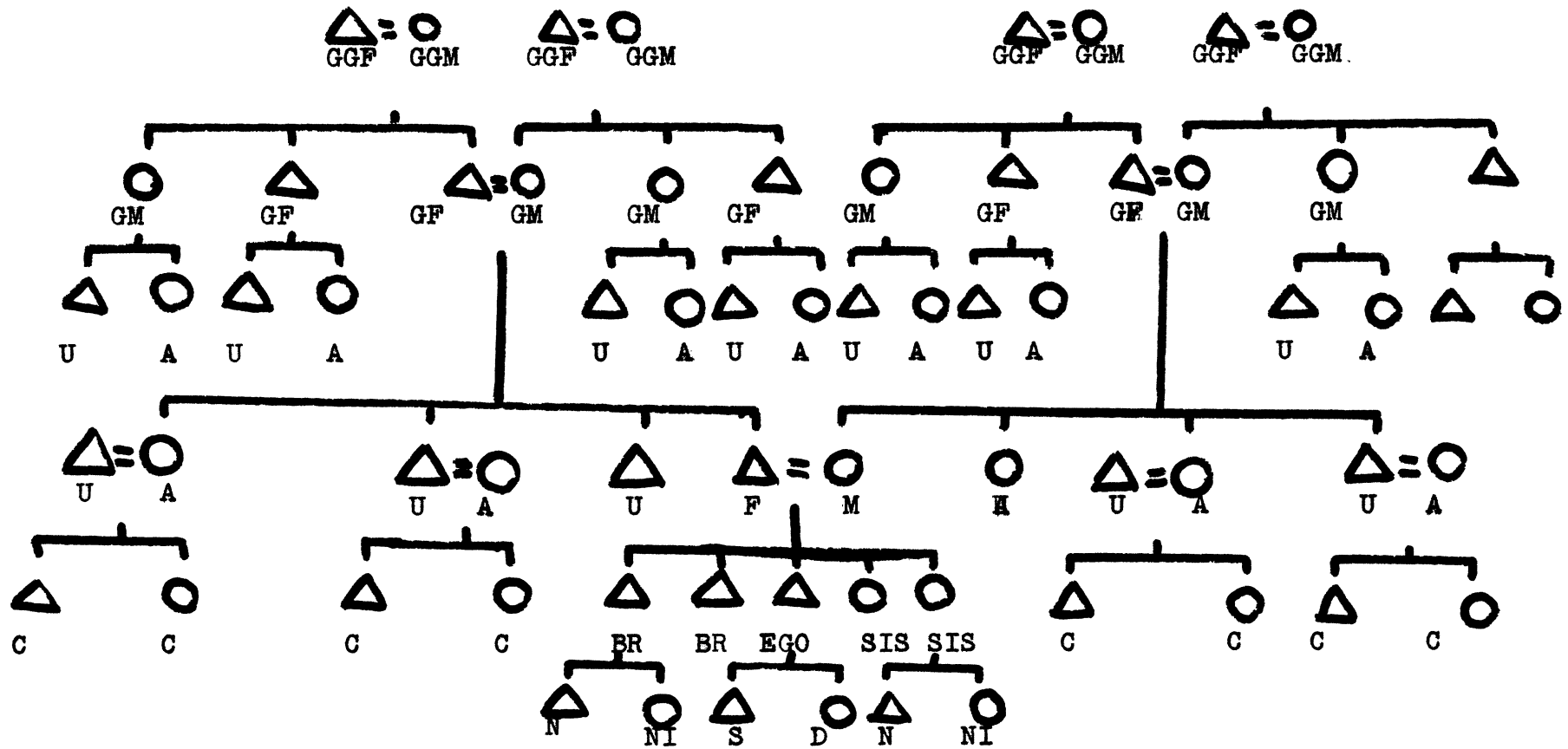


FIGURE VII

- g. General polygamy is licensed with some preference for the sororal form.
- h. Presence of independent polygamous family.
- i. Bifurcate collateral form where distinct terms are applied to MO, MOSI, and FASI is present.
- j. Different terms are used to refer to DA, BRDA, and SIDA.

Bilocal residence and the probability of some matrilineal residence are other traits which may be attributed to this type. Although during the Pend d'Oreille-American acculturation period a great tendency toward neolocality of residence has become apparent, we should not totally overlook the presence of these earlier types of residences during the old times.

The terminological system of the young English speaking Pend d'Oreille appears to belong to Spier's Eskimo type. According to Spier, "A system could be called Eskimo type when cross and parallel cousins are called as cousins and are separated from siblings."<sup>31</sup>

The author asked the young marriageable informants whether after marriage they would stay with their parents. The majority of them preferred to establish new homes and live a very independent life away from their parents and in-laws.

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<sup>31</sup> Spier, 1925, p. 79.

## CHAPTER VI

### MODERN KINSHIP BEHAVIOR

#### Present Social Setting

Most of the Upper Pend d'Oreille Indians today live in the Flathead reservation which starts from the vicinity of Evero, Montana, and stretches westward to Plains, Montana. They reside mostly in St. Ignatius, Pablo, Ronan, Perma, Hotsprings and Camas Prairies, while some of them live around Arlee and Ravalli.

Since the allocation of the reservation land to the Indians of this reserve, many allotments have been sold to whites. Other allotments have been divided among heirs, and still others have so many heirs that they cannot equitably be subdivided. Most Pend d'Oreille lease their land to whites. This mixture of Indians and whites distributes the population interspersedly over the old Flathead, Pend d'Oreille, and Kutenai allotment areas.

Residence is usually patrilocal at the beginning with an increase of neolocality. Many of the young Indians try to emancipate themselves from the reservation to seek residence and jobs elsewhere. Service in the United States Armed Forces and other factors, such as the rise of the education level, have been of great help toward the

acculturation of these people. Each young Pend d'Oreille individual wishes to have a family and home of his own and live independently of his parents and in-laws. But generally, they try to live as close to the parental home as possible in order to be able to get help during life crises.

Subsistence is determined by a number of factors. The major means of livelihood is farming and to an extent cattle ranching. The lack of knowledge in marketing and animal husbandry has reduced their income to a miserably low figure. The poor quality of land and absence of agricultural experience have also been great factors in the crop failure and decline of farm income. Income from lease of land, agricultural labor, and miscellaneous odd jobs provides another part of their livelihood. Many of these Indians, particularly the older individuals have a great deal of leisure time. This factor creates many social meetings and trips inside and outside of the reservation. Usually the older people attend all of the social and ritual dances or events, though they may be held in other reservations many miles away. Centers of interaction for modern Pend d'Oreille are the towns which are mentioned above. St. Ignatius Mission could be considered the most important of all centers because many of the people belonging to the Flathead reservation



meet there every Sunday for Catholic services.

The center of the tribal organization is the tribal council which is located in Dixon, Montana. The members and officers are elected. Due to a pervading lack of interest, the meetings seldom reach the required quorum.<sup>32</sup> Usually very little is accomplished at the meetings and considerable bickering over what has been done or should be done often forms the pattern of discussion.

The laws of inheritance and the shortage of land and personal property have based the Pend d'Oreille modern behavior on kinship ties. Each individual tries to relate himself to another person with the hope of becoming one of his heirs.

The present behavior between relatives as has been discussed in connection with the older Pend d'Oreille falls into "respect" and "joking" categories. Although the teen-age individuals are well aware of this, they refuse to consider very sharp boundaries between the categories. Thus, the line between JOKING and RESPECT relationships has become somewhat undefined in practice.

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Statement was made by Mr. McDonald and Mr. Lassaw.

### Respect Relationship

Parent-Child. The relationship between parent and child is still one of "respect". Teasing and joking are not supposed to take place. Nursing of small children occurs on demand. Soft drinks, meat, cold cuts, or other food materials are given to them if they so desire. Children are left to play with very little supervision when they are about three years of age. They are not chastized or punished if they happen to create a disturbance during a church meeting or other ceremony. They often run and chase each other through the gathering without being scolded. Some of the parents will, at the peak of their anger, spank their children. According to informants, spanking is a white man's practice and never existed in the old times. Children are sometimes threatened with punishment but it is very seldom that the threat has been actually carried out. Parents still threaten their children of old time punishments. They may tell the child to behave or the "Spotted Face" will get him.

Education and child instruction takes place through the means of continual association. Close female relatives take care of the children when parents are out. This, however, does not happen very often since parents almost always take their children with them wherever they go.

Older children are expected to help in family activities such as cleaning, washing dishes, and sometimes gathering firewood. The greater part of instruction and formal education is left to the school systems. There is no longer a need for instruction in herding horses, warfare practices, and other affairs of the old days. Schools are also assuming the task of teaching some modern farming methods, and farm animal care to the young Indian students. Tanning hides, bead work, and similar training is given to the female children by their mothers and grandmothers. These skills, however, are on the verge of extinction, and in the author's opinion will soon disappear. As soon as the older people die their handicraft and beautiful artwork will die with them.

Children are supposed to look after their aged parents and frequently do. Grandchildren will often take care of their grandparents if the old persons happen to have no living children.

The older respect relationship is still to a great extent practiced where parents and children do show respect toward each other. In actuality, however, this is a relative matter.

Addressing of the parents by their personal names is also a new development which the older Indians claim has come with the white man. During the past it was a serious offense not to call parents by their Pend d'Oreille

kinship terms.

Parent's Siblings-Sibling's Children. Respect relationship between these relatives is still carried out. Younger Pend d'Oreille individuals still respect their relatives and do not hesitate to defend them if they are being insulted. Children are taught not to joke with relatives in this category. Non-participant observation showed that these respect behavior ties were sometimes broken but the attitude of the young individual was severely resented by his elders.

The younger generation is not obligated to use the kinship terms in order to refer to their parent's siblings. In modern times these relatives prefer to be called by their personal names. Kinship terms are used only when these relatives are bilingual and are trying to introduce other relatives to a third person. Parent's siblings usually reciprocate the respect relation by showing pride in their sibling's children's accomplishments.

It should be mentioned that the respect relationship between parent's siblings and sibling's children of the same or nearly the same age groups does not any more exist. In schools or at home they tease and joke and obey very few of the old traditions.

Parent-in-law-Child-in-law. As I mentioned above, there never existed any in-law avoidances among the Pend d'Oreille people. The relation, however, still is of the respect category and the in-laws are treated in the same way as in the old days.

#### Joking Relationships

Sibling-Sibling. Siblings are frequently each other's only playmates since many of the Pend d'Oreille families live on farms distant from other farms or villages. The oldest siblings usually are responsible for the care of their younger brothers or sisters. They also remain with them when the parents are away. There is, however, a mild degree of joking relationship among the siblings. Siblings can be teased and it is permissible to laugh at such times.

A measure of respect, however, is demonstrated between siblings. In the event of a discussion between outsiders in which a sibling is mentioned in a derogatory tone, the sibling present often objects violently.

There is always a noticeably close relation between siblings. Brothers often visit their sister's homes and may stay with them for a long while. When there is need for help, siblings are supposed to give each other assistance and comfort. Those who leave their siblings at times of need are socially rejected.

Cousin-Cousin. Relationship between cousins is of joking category. Light practical joking goes on among cousins. To a great extent the relationship between cousins is similar to that of sibling-sibling. In fact, in the old days, the Pend d'Oreille used the same term for cousins and siblings. This term is also used today among the bilingual group but it is absent in the terminology of English-speaking generations. The behavior pattern, however, is similar to that of the past.

Grandparent-Grandchild. Data concerning the modern relationship between grandparents and grandchildren is meager. According to my observations this behavior seemed to be much the same as in the past, though it may have become less defined and not of a non-reciprocal joking relationship. My young informants always reciprocated mildly when their grandparents decided to tease them. But generally the joking relationship is much stronger from the grandparent's side.

Sibling-in-law-Sibling-in-law. The sibling-in-laws maintain a noticeable joking relationship. Subjects of joking between the relatives in this category are not restricted and sexual topics seem to be one of the favorite topics of gossip.

The behavior of the monolingual, English speaking

generation just arriving at the marriageable age is not known to me. Further studies in this would be invaluable.

Husband-Wife. As a result of many divorces and unofficial separations, data concerning the actual behavior in a permanent marriage is not sufficiently available. One can never trust the authenticity of informations since the young informants are not very reliable. Most of the troubles seem to arise as a result of extra marital sexual activities. At the present there are many such cases in existence on the Flathead reservation where some men while being legally married to a woman are living with another one. They consider these marriages as "Indian marriages" and do not appear to be very disturbed about the situation.

The relationship, as long as it exists, is thought to be of mild joking mixed with a certain amount of mutual respect. Spouses cooperate in the housekeeping and farm-work and in other means of securing a living.

The husband still remains the dominant member of the pair. This is especially true of the older couples. The male decides the trips and parties or family ceremonies and he is the one who controls the welfare of the children.

## CHAPTER VII

### CONCLUSIONS

In Murdock's recent book on social structure, a technique is adapted to determine the evolution of histories of social organization based on inferential evidence within the organizations themselves.<sup>33</sup> Murdock's own statements admit that these reconstructions may contain some errors. However, he believes that his method could be of use when the various inferences agree with each other and when the variable historidal evidences are present. Among the two hundred and fifty groups treated, Flathead and twenty one other groups are considered to have possessed a similar culture and have been subjected to similar influences and cultural changes. Some of these twenty two groups are ATSUGEWI, BLACKFOOT, HAWAIIANS, INCA, etc. Since there are great similarities and cultural closenesses between the Flathead groups and Pend d'Oreille tribes, Murdock's conclusions for the Flathead inferential changes will be mentioned here. To illustrate his viewpoint, I feel that a summary of Murdock's methodology and conclusions in regard to the Flathead is pertinent.

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<sup>33</sup>

Murdock, G. P., Social Structure, p. 323-324.



Murdock rests his classification of social organization on three major criteria:

1. Rule of descent.
2. Cousin terminology.
3. Rule of residence.

The first two determine the major type and the third the sub-type<sup>34</sup> In studying the evolution of social organizations, rules of residence are considered most susceptible to change, descent is considered next, and cousin terminology to be the least likely to be influenced by change.

According to Spier's data<sup>35</sup> utilized by Murdock, the Flathead system belongs to the PATRI-HAWAIIAN type because of their bilateral descent, Hawaiian cousin terminology, and probable existence of the past matrilineal residence. He also concludes that the Flathead social organization has changed from a probable Matri-Hawaiian to Normal-Hawaiian into its present Patri-Hawaiian type. He defines the Hawaiian type of social organization as follows:

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<sup>34</sup> Ibid., p. 327-329.

<sup>35</sup> Spier, Leslie. The Distribution of Kinship Systems in North America, pp. 258-261.

By definition, this structural type embraces all societies possessing cousin terms of Hawaiian type lacking exogamous unilinear kin groups. In addition, it is characterized by the exceedingly frequent appearances of limited polygamy, the bilocal extended family, generation terminology for aunts and nieces, bilateral extension of incest taboos, and bilateral kindred or demes.<sup>36</sup>

He says:

Kindreds normally develop either with bilocal residence or with neolocal residence and bilateral descent, and are therefore especially characteristic of bilateral structures. Hence their presence in a unilocal sub-type of Eskimo or Hawaiian structure indicates derivation from the normal sub-type of the same type.<sup>37</sup>

Secondly:

Bilocal residence can evolve, with rare exceptions only from a matrilocal or a patrilocal structure. Matrilocal residence can, in general, develop only from a bilocal structure, although a neolocal origin is not unknown. Neolocal residence ordinarily evolves from a patrilocal basis, although both matrilocal and amineolocal origins are possible.<sup>38</sup>

In the case of the Pend d'Oreille, as far as we know, matrilocal residence is inconsistent with bilateral descent because the newly weds did not stay for a long period of time with the wife's parents and moved to the husband's paternal home and soon left them, to live in a place of their own.

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<sup>36</sup>

Murdock, G. P., Social Structure, p. 228.

<sup>37</sup>

Ibid., p. 328.

<sup>38</sup>

Ibid., p. 329.

Murdock has not included the problem of the cross and parallel cousins terminology and its identity with siblings. All of his information about the Flathead group seems to have been taken from Turney-High whose information in regard to the Flathead matrilinear aspects and bilateral descent is meager. There are very few indications of the past matrilinearity of Pend d'Oreille social organization. The available information does not indicate a great tendency toward it, although the existence of such a system in the past should not be ruled out. There are indications which tend to convince me that the Pend d'Oreille and Flathead groups in the old times were of patrilinear or unilateral descent with bilocal or patrineolocal residence.

The patri-Hawaiian type of organization which Murdock relates to the Flathead groups could be applied to the present bilingual Flathead and Pend d'Oreille groups. The cousin terminology, bilateral rule of descent, and bilocal residence of this group can easily be recognized in Murdock's definition of patri-Hawaiian system.

It should be pointed out that the changes in the Pend d'Oreille kinship system and related spheres have occurred in a continuous sequence. Delineation of this sequence can be shown to be nothing but a general portrayal, and in actuality no great changes occurred overnight and most of them continued over long periods of time. Some

families and individuals tended to change terminology and behavior relatively rapidly, while others were more conservative - so much so, that "old style" schedules could still be collected in 1955.

Terminologically, the present middle group is bilingual and can use both Salish and American kinship terms, while the younger generation of twenty years of age and under have switched almost completely to American terminology. But, the bilateral kinship terms are applied to a much wider range of relatives; and behavior still tends to follow the generalized joking-respect categories, though highly formalized and special kinship duties to all intents and purposes have disappeared. Although younger Pend d'Oreilles still extend relationship more widely than in most variations of the American system, there appears some tendency toward narrowing. In the older system, family exogamy was practiced and this meant that any individual to whom a relationship could be traced bilaterally was forbidden as a spouse. Some of the younger Pend d'Oreille have married second or third cousins (even though elders have disapproved) and thus decreased the range of extension. However, other Pend d'Oreille still recognize the older extension and interpret the numerous extra-tribal marriages as being necessary because the Pend d'Oreille are so few and inter-related.

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